

Message Text

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INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 AF-10 ARA-10 EA-07 NEA-10
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NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05
COME-00 EB-08 FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03
LAB-04 EPG-02 SIL-01 OMB-01 STR-04 OES-07 DLOS-09
DHA-02 CU-02 BIB-01 ACDA-07 AGRE-00 ITC-01 ERDA-05
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R 261136Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4823

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 4420

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

PARIS ALSO FOR UNESCO

E.O.: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, US, DA

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SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: REQUEST FOR MULTILATERAL
INFORMATION ON HOST GOVERNMENTS

REFS: (A) STATE 159747, (B) STATE 148782, (C) COPENHAGEN 661
2/27/76, (D) COPENHAGEN 69, 1/8/76, (E) COPENHAGEN
1848, (F) STATE 145618

1. REF A REQUESTED AN UPDATE ON MULTILATERAL INFO RE DENMARK. REF B OUTLINED US MULTILATERAL CONCERNS. REF C WAS EMBASSY COPENHAGEN'S RESPONSE TO LAST YEAR'S REQUEST FOR MULTILATERAL INFO. REF D REPORTED A DISCUSSION ON THE REORGANIZATION OF US MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY BETWEEN THE AMBASSADOR AND THE MFA PERMANENT UNDER SECRETARY. REFS E AND F CONSTITUTE CURRENT POLICY GUIDANCE FOR DENMARK. MUCH OF THE INFO REPORTED IN REF C REMAINS CURRENT. THAT CABLE SHOULD BE REREAD IN CONNECTION WITH THE FOLLOWING NEW COMMENTS.

THE EC PRESIDENCY

2. THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN DENMARK'S FOREIGN RELATIONS, BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL, OVER THE NEXT YEAR WILL BE ITS ASSUMPTION OF THE EC PRESIDENCY FOR THE SIX MONTHS BEGINNING JANUARY 1, 1978. WE HAVE THEREFORE INCLUDED IN OUR RESPONSE A PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT OF HOW THE DANES WILL APPROACH THE EC PRESIDENCY. THEY ARE STILL, HOWEVER, IN THE STAGE OF EARLY PLANNING. NO MORE REAL MOMENTUM CAN BE EXPECTED UNTIL THE END OF THE SUMMER HOLIDAY PERIOD. WE EXPECT TO HOLD OUR FIRST MEETING WITH THE DANES ON "GETTING READY FOR THE PRESIDENCY" IN MID-SEPTEMBER.

4. AS IS PRESUMABLY THE CASE WITH THE OTHER SMALLER MEMBER NATIONS OF THE NINE, THE PRESIDENCY WILL TAX THE MODEST PERSONNEL RESOURCES OF THE MFA AND THE DANISH FOREIGN SERVICE. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE HOME STAFF WILL BE REINFORCED BY TEMPORARILY RECALLING OFFICERS FROM THE FIELD AND BY NEW, SHORT-TERM PROFESSIONAL-LEVEL PEOPLE, MOSTLY FROM ACADEMIA. HOW THEY ARE ALL TO BE USED REMAINS PROBLEMATIC AND ON EACH NEW VISIT TO THE MFA'S FIRST OFFICE WE DISCOVER NEW WIRING DIAGRAMS HANGING ON THE WALLS.

5. THE DANES HAVE HAD ONLY ONE PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE AS EC HOSTS, THE LAST HALF OF 1973, AT A TIME WHEN PROCEDURES FOR CONSULTATIONS BOTH AMONG THE NINE AND WITH THE US WERE OF A DIFFERENT ORDER. THEY KNOW THEY CANNOT MARSHALL THE NUMBERS AND EXPERTISE JUST DISPLAYED BY ONE OF THE OTHER NEWCOMERS TO THE NINE, THE UK. BUT THEY ARE DETERMINED TO ACQUIT THEMSELVES WELL IN THIS ROLE.

6. THE DANES RARELY STRIKE A HIGH INTERNATIONAL PROFILE, AND WE CAN EXPECT THIS POSTURE TO CONTINUE WHILE THEY ARE IN THE EC CHAIR. THE MFA IS, OF COURSE, AWARE OF THE SUBSTANTIVE ADVANTAGES THE PRESIDENCY WILL ACCORD THE DANISH GOVERNMENT VIA THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE VARIOUS COMMITTEES AND POWER OVER THE AGENDA. WHAT MATTERS FOR US IS THAT ON MOST SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES, THE DANES HOLD SIMILAR VIEWS TO

OURS. FURTHERMORE, IN MANY CASES THEY WILL USE THEIR POSITION TO ADVANCE OUR COMMON INTERESTS.

SOME ISSUES

7. FOR A MORE COMPLETE RUNDOWN ON DANISH ATTITUDES, REFS E AND F MIGHT BE CONSULTED. IN THIS MESSAGE, WE WILL ADDRESS HUMAN RIGHTS, SOUTHERN AFRICA, NORTH-SOUTH, MTN, UN SALARIES AND STRUCTURE AND A COUPLE OF AREAS (THERE ARE PROBABLY OTHERS) WHERE THE DANES HAVE TAKEN MULTILATERAL INITIATIVES WHICH ARE STILL UNFOLDING. UNDER THE LATTER RUBRIC, FOR EXAMPLE, WE UNDERSTAND THAT NATO STILL HAS UNDER CONSIDERATION IN BRUSSELS A DANISH PROPOSAL FOR MORE STUDIED AND COORDINATED ALLIANCE RESPONSES TO SOVIET DISARMAMENT PROPOSALS. ANOTHER
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EXAMPLE IS THAT WITHIN THE EC CONTEXT THE DANES ARE USUALLY AMONG THE "LIBERALS", OFTEN OPPOSED TO FRENCH POLITICAL POSITIONS, PLUG FOR FREE TRADE AND HAVE BEEN AT ODDS WITH THE UK OVER SOME IMPORTANT ECONOMIC MATTERS INCLUDING FISHING RIGHTS (MOST RECENTLY AS INVOLVING THE SUSPENSION OF HERRING FISHING IN THE NORTH SEA) AND THE CAP'S MONETARY COMPENSATORY PAYMENTS SYSTEM. ALTHOUGH SHARING ORIGINAL RESERVATIONS WITH THE UK OVER DIRECT EC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS, THE DANES HAVE PUT ASIDE THEIR FEARS AND HAVE TAKEN ALMOST ALL OF THE PARLIAMENTARY STEPS TO ALLOW THEIR PARTICIPATION IN 1978.

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USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 4420

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

PARIS ALSO FOR UNESCO

8. HUMAN RIGHTS. LONG AMONG THE LEADERS IN THEIR CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, THE DANES BELIEVE THAT THEIR ESPOUSAL OF THIS CONFIDENTIAL

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CONCERN CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THE BASKET III PORTION OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT--AT A TIME WHEN THEY REGARDED THE US AS HOLDING CSCE AT ARM'S LENGTH. THE DANES WILL PARTICIPATE ACTIVELY IN BOTH THE PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE PORTIONS OF THE BELGRADE FOLLOW-UP MEETING WHICH THEY CONSIDER ONE OF THEIR CSCE INITIATIVES. (IT WILL ALSO BE RECALLED, HOWEVER, THAT THE DANES LONG ADVOCATED A MORE PRECISE BELGRADE CUT-OFF DATE THAN THE U.S. AND OTHER NATO ALLIES WANTED.)

9. THE REACTION OF THE DANES TO PRESIDENT CARTER'S POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT AMBIVALENT. THEY AGREE WITH THE PRINCIPLE BUT WORRY OVER DAMAGE TO DETENTE AND WORSENING OF CONDITIONS OF DISSIDENTS IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES.

10. SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE DANES BELIEVE THAT THEY ENJOY A SPECIAL CACHET IN BLACK AFRICA AND DEVOTE CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE CONTINENT. IN A RECENT DISCUSSION WITH ONE OF OUR MFA CONTACTS, HE REPEATED THE VIEW STRONGLY HELD BY DANISH FOREIGN AFFAIRS PROFESSIONALS THAT IT IS "FIVE MINUTES TO MIDNIGHT" IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE DANES EXPECT SOUTH AFRICAN PROBLEMS TO LOOM LARGE AT THE 32ND UNGA AND AT THE LAGOS CONFERENCE IN AUGUST WHICH MINIS-

TER WITH PORTFOLIO LISE ØSTERGAARD (SEE PARA 15, BELOW) WILL ATTEND.

11. NORTH/SOUTH. WE CAN EXPECT THE DANES TO BE WITH US ON MOST ASPECTS OF THIS MULTI-FACETED DIALOGUE--AND SOMETIMES PERHAPS IN FRONT OF US. HISTORICALLY THE DANES HAVE BEEN OFTEN MORE PREPARED THAN THE U.S. TO MEET THIRD WORLD ASPIRATIONS. DENMARK, FOR EXAMPLE, PRESENTLY ALLOCATES 0.58 PERCENT OF ITS GNP FOR FOREIGN AID AND EXPECTS TO ATTAIN THE 0.7 PERCENT TARGET IN 1980.

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12. UN SALARIES AND STRUCTURE. IN THE PAST THE DANES HAVE NOT BEEN VERY RESPONSIVE TO U.S. ATTEMPTS TO CURTAIL STAFF PAY INCREASES IN VARIOUS INTERNATIONAL AGENCIES. (THE CURRENT CAMPAIGN RE IBRD/IMF PAY INCREASES IS A HAPPY EXCEPTION.) THEY SAY THEY AGREE IN PRINCIPLE THAT COSTS SHOULD BE KEPT DOWN. ON ONE OCCASION, HOWEVER, AN MFA OFFICIAL CANDIDLY REMARKED THAT BECAUSE PROPOSED INCREASES HAVE SUCH A MARGINAL FINANCIAL EFFECT ON DENMARK, THE DANES USUALLY GO ALONG IN THE INTEREST OF FOSTERING GOOD RELATIONS WITH INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SERVANTS. AS LONG-TIME BOOSTERS OF THE UN SYSTEM, THE DANES ARE DISMAYED OVER ITS INCREASING DYSFUNCTIONALISM BUT ARE NOT SURE WHAT EXACTLY TO DO ABOUT IT.

13. MTN. AS A "FREE TRADER", THE DANES WILL BE INCLINED, WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF THE NINE, TO LISTEN SYMPATHETICALLY TO U.S. REPRESENTATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, A MAJOR BENEFICIARY OF THE MARKET'S COMMON AGRICULTURAL POLICY, A SYSTEM THAT HAS CAUSED THE U.S. TO CONSIDER COUNTERVAILING DUTIES ON DANISH HAM, CHEESE AND BUTTER COOKIES. EC AGRICULTURAL COMMISSIONER, FINN GUNDELACH, A DANE, IS FREQUENTLY CONSULTED PRIVATELY ON KEY ISSUES BY HIS COUNTRYMENT IN THE DANISH GOVERNMENT.

ORGANIZATION

14. HOW ARE THE DANES ORGANIZED TO COPE WITH MULTILATERAL PROBLEMS? THE SHORT ANSWER IS, NOT AS WELL AS THEY COULD BE. SINCE FEB. 25 THERE ARE NO LONGER TWO "FOREIGN MINISTERS" WITH SEPARATE SUPPORTING BUREAUCRACIES. IVAR NORGAAARD, THE EX-MINISTER OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, IS NOW MINISTER OF COMMERCE AND HIS OLD JOB HAS BEEN SUPPRESSED. FOREIGN MINISTER K. B. ANDERSEN IS THEORETICALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR EVERYTHING. BUT COORDINATION BETWEEN THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SIDES OF THE MFA, WHICH TEND TO BE INSULATED FROM EACH OTHER, IS NOT ALWAYS SMOOTH. (THE DANISH MFA IS ORGANIZED ALONG THE

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TRADITIONAL VERTICAL EUROPEAN MODEL WITH A NUMBER OF SEPARATE FUNCTIONAL/SUBSTANTIVE AREAS, THE MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH-- POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC--REPORT TO DIFFERENT PERMANENT UNDER- SECRETARIES.)

15. ALSO ON FEB. 25, MS. LISE ØSTERGAARD WAS NAMED MINISTER WITHOUT PORTFOLIO WITH SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS. SHE HAS RECEIVED AD-HOC ASSIGNMENTS ON CERTAIN ASPECTS OF DANISH FOREIGN POLICY E.G., HUMAN RIGHTS, AFRICA, SOUTHEAST ASIA. SHE WILL ALSO CONTROL A NEW, STRENGTHENED DISARMAMENT OFFICE AND WILL HEAD DENMARK'S DELEGATION TO NEXT YEAR'S SPECIAL UN SESSION ON DISARMAMENT. FOREIGN MINISTRY PROFESSIONALS HAVE WRYLY OBSERVED THAT MS. ØSTERGAARD SEEMS TO BE ASSIGNED THOSE TASKS THAT ANDERSEN DOES NOT WISH TO HANDLE DIRECTLY HIMSELF.

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R 261136Z JUL 77
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 COPENHAGEN 4420

USEEC ALSO FOR EMBASSY

PARIS ALSO FOR UNESCO

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16. WHO HAS INFLUENCE ON THE DANES? THE DESCRIPTION CONTAINED IN REF C REMAINS LARGELY VALID: MOSTLY THEIR EC PARTNERS AND THE U.S. THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS SHOULD BE ADDED, HOWEVER. THE DANES ARE RELUCTANT TO BE ISOLATED AS THE "ODD MAN OUT" AND SEEK TO FIND AGREEMENT AND IDENTITY WITH SOME SORT OF ACCEPTABLE GROUP. FOR EXAMPLE, ALTHOUGH THE DANES BROKE WITH THE REST OF THE NINE ON SOUTH AFRICA AT THE LAST UNGA, THEY STOOD TOGETHER WITH THEIR NORDIC NEIGHBORS.

17. NORDIC AND WIDER EMPHASIS. AND, UNDER THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS, THE DANES APPEAR TO BE GIVING MORE THAN JUST THE TRADITIONAL LIP SERVICE TO "NORDIC UNITY". ONE OF THE REASONS FOR THIS RENEWED INTEREST IN STRENGTHENING THE FIBER OF DANISH TIES TO THE NORTH IS THEIR MUTED MISAPPREHENSION OVER THE SOUTHERN TILT THAT WILL RESULT FROM THE PRESUMED EXPANDED EC/MEDITERRANEAN MEMBERSHIP.

18. SOME MFA PROFESSIONALS, HOWEVER, PROFESS TO REGARD A STRENGTHENED DANISH INTEREST NORTHWARD AS PRIMARILY A MANIFESTATION OF A "360-DEGREE AZIMUTH APPROACH" TO CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION. FOREIGN MINISTER K. B. ANDERSEN HAS, FOR EXAMPLE, GIVEN SPECIAL ATTENTION TO DENMARK'S ASSOCIATION WITH THE OTHER 18 IN THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE.

19. AS JANUARY MOVES NEARER, WE SHALL HAVE MORE TO SAY ABOUT THE EC-US CONSULTATIVE PROCESS VIA THE DANES. FOR THE MOMENT, WE WISH ONLY TO STRESS THE FOLLOWING POINTS AS THEY EFFECT ALL ASPECTS OF DANISH MULTILATERAL DIPLOMACY.

- DANISH DIPLOMATS ACT IN ACCORDANCE WITH MFA INSTRUCTIONS. IF WE WANT THEM TO CHANGE A POSITION, THE PERSUASION ULTIMATELY HAS TO BE ATTEMPTED BY THE EMBASSY WITH MFA PRINCIPALS IN COPENHAGEN.

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- IN ORDER TO PERSUADE, THE EMBASSY MUST RECEIVE TIMELY AND COHERENT INSTRUCTIONS.

- HIGH LEVEL AND EXPERT VISITS BY U.S. OFFICIALS IN ANTICIPATION OF MULTILATERAL MEETINGS AND ISSUES ARE HELPFUL. IN THE EC CONTEXT, IT WILL BE EASIER TO CATCH THE ATTENTION OF THE DANES BEFORE THEY ARE DISTRACTED BY THE BURDENS OF THE PRESIDENCY.

20. IN THIS LATTER CONNECTION, FOR EXAMPLE, IT SEEMS CLEAR THAT IMPORTANT MTN NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE UNDERWAY DURING THE FIRST SIX MONTHS OF 1978. A VISIT TO COPENHAGEN BY MR. STRAUSS AND UNDER SECRETARY COOPER THIS FALL WOULD BE PARTICULARLY REWARDING BOTH TO THE U.S. AND DENMARK. ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE DANES WOULD BE ENHANCED THROUGH VISITS HERE BY U.S. OFFICIALS TO TALK WITH THOSE DANISH OFFICIALS WHO WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR COORDINATING EC, AND OTHER MULTILATERAL, POSITIONS NEXT YEAR.

21. POL COUNS CHARLES E. RUSHING REMAINS THE EMBASSY'S MLO.

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Message Attributes

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